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Fig. 10. The gathering and the festival of Yacairá in front of the chief's house. In the foreground the two stands with the cross and the calabash, around it the semicircle of men, singing and swinging the gourd rattles. One of them is holding a cross in his hand.

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The song in the original text runs:

"Hangatú, ĭe rykeý, ĭe reté moãtyro, ĭe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĭe rykeý, ĭe curussú moãtyro, ĭe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĭe rykeý, ĭe yeguaka moãtyro, ĭe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĭe rykeý, ĭe curussú warópyte moãtyro, ĭe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĭe rykeý, ĭe curussú warãkambý moãtyro, ĭe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĭe rykeý, ĭe curussú wapétya moãtyro, ĭe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĭe rykeý, ĭe curussú warópyta moãtyro, ĭe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĭe rykeý, se curussú kuãkuahã moãtyro, ĭe rykeý."

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In connection with it, it is to be noted first of all that łe ɣikeʔ is used instead of Nhaxdeɣikeʔ. Although Nhaxdeɣikeʔ is the name of the god formerly called Cuxaɬɣ, its meaning must not be overlooked: shaxde means "we," "our"; ɣikeʔ is the elder brother: hence, shaxdeʔɣikeʔ means = our elder brother. Thus it is understandable that in the song łe = I, mine, takes the place of "our." I shall now give the translation of the song:

"I wish, my elder brother, that my body be pure, my elder brother,
I wish, m. e. br., that my head be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my diadem be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my chest be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the arms of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the foot of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my abdominal belt be pure, m. e. br."

This song, a sort of invocation, is addressed to Nhaxdeɣikeʔ, to the elder brother of the Caɬáʔa, and asks for purity of the body and of the articles of adornment. Purifying power is attributed to the god. If in this connection one keeps it in mind that this god is identical with Cuxaɬɣ, the sun, one understands the deeper meaning of the invocation. Purifying and healing power is generally attributed to the sun. Hence in this song are revealed remnants of an old sun worship which probably was formerly widespread and more clearly marked. -- There is a second song that speaks even more clearly for this interpretation: it runs

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Chapter VI

Rites of Crisis in Guaraní Life

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The social rhythm of Guaraní life moves not only from the annual "ecological cycle," but also from the regular sequence or more or less fortuitous appearance of crisis situations, which sometimes concern the group in its totality, sometimes more precisely certain persons because of the position that falls to them in the social structure. The crisis situations, because of the danger involved to them for certain elements of the community or for the whole group, demand special treatment, according to norms and rites established by tradition. In the existence of the individual, birth, biological maturation, illnesses, the birth of children, and death are the principal times of crisis. For the group as a whole, special situations, such as the harvest of the first green maize, epidemics, journeys, and other events in some way disrupt the equilibrium of daily life and demand or may demand ritual measures.

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Not all crisis situations require identical precautions. The most important ones are those in which the person involved is given the special designation of ñánki or ayúkwaká, being subject to the danger of sexual contamination, which is called ayúkwa; the Mbyá also speak of karugwá. The conjunction of measures that the person should take is called "reguarda" /caution, defense preventive measure/ in Portuguese: in Guaraní one simply says that he-and-he is ahé. Ahé is the state of the father (and among the Mbyá that of the mother as well) during the first days after the birth of the child, the girl during her first menstruation is ahé, and, finally (among the Kayová), the boy during the days that follow the lip piercing. -- We also find the term reguarda /this word is not italicized in the original source/ in texts about the ancient Tupinambá, where it is said to "reguarda do matador" /the caution of the murderer/.

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heaven, while the bad part remains going about on earth as a
[183] ghost. Thus we notice that "ini" is simply a manifestation of
the bad part of the human soul. At death the bad part of the
soul, which the Mbiká call mbogué (Pouchet also uses the word
ngalle), more common in the other two subgroups of the tribe,
goes to live in the cemetery: "at night, it does not know where
to sleep, leaves, and goes that way."

From all this it is seen that, in spite of the superstitions of
the soul -- originating perhaps, like the notion of "demon,"
from a poorly understood Christianity -- it is a matter here, as
has already been explained above, of a genuine psychological
dualism. For, understood as the locality of concentration of
the race within the context of the community, the soul is
divided, for the Mbiká, into social and antisocial inclinations.
Sadness or wickedness are equivalent to the tendency to quarrel,
[184] the spirit of rebellion. One trait, however, which seems to
distinguish the Mbiká (and the Koyoré) psychology from that of the
Bandeya is that in it the negative part of the human soul is con-
nected less to the instinctive life of the human being.

The above psychological theory was recorded, as we said,
among the Mbiká of the village of Ko Bouna. Explanations ob-
tained in other groups diverge from it. Thus, the religious chief
[184] of the Mbiká of Bantó /121/ admits the existence of four souls in
each person, one located in the head, another one in the heart,
and two that remain outside, caring for the individual. Accord-
[537] ing to the textual words of the informant: Tomé kondo bolkoto
ambéi; ngondo ambéi ngoyoto, ngondo ambéi kondoto, ngondo
ambéi ekoto, ollgoundoto ngondo.

Unfortunately the data that I have about the "psychological
theory" of the Koyoré are too desparate and incongruent for one to
[184] be able to attempt a systematization. It is certain that the
Koyoré, too, in a general way profess the dualist doctrine, more
or less in the Bandeya sense. The sublime part of the soul, of
celestial origin, is the bolí or ngoyé, respectively bolígué or
ngoyégué. For the less good part, they gave me the name ngalle

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782 869 756 Prayers that are sung at collective ceremonies may be passed on by instruction. A ñanderú is created both by inspiration and by instruction besides receiving so many prayers by the direct route. It is a good idea for him to take a course with a specialist. At Desterro Vicente Jacobino (who was not a paí and did not even have an "altar" near his house), seized by a mystical crisis that made him forget everything else, would gather together some of his neighbors every day and pray with them -- "instructing them," in the words of Manoel. He would appear with his "pupils," praying, at the oka (dancing ground) of Paí Tomás and next to the house of the curer Pascoal. At Amambai, Paí José taught his nephew, who called himself a very devoted pupil: "Where this uncle of mine goes, I go too."

756 785 [184] At least among the Kayová and ñandéva the acquisition of the qualities of a religious leader also requires some continence in sexual life. Any Guarani can become one who prays -- the ñanderú Fernando of Pôrto Lindo told me -- as long as he does not marry and is reserved: it is necessary, he explained, to have no ambitions concerning women. The demand for chastity refers to the apprenticeship phase, the period during which the supernatural revelations and curative powers are expected. The same holds for women who wish to become curers (ñandesy, "our mother"): they start to learn /135/ from the time they are children and they marry only after they have the knowledge and the abilities required for the exercise of the functions for which they are destined. Olé Fernando told me: ñanderú does not readily 756 give revelations to the new generation, which marries early. He 159 himself, Fernando, who took pride in having studied with a great [582] master, claims to have postponed marriage until old age, in order to be able to become ñanderú.

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He himself had a fervent disciple, Hilário, who, married, claimed, however, to live in the matrimony of Joseph. Having [783] been brought up in Paraguay, among Paraguayans with little religious life, Hilário was subjected by Fernando to "purification ceremonies" (analogous to the Christian confession!), in order to take away everything reproachable in him, particularly the ideas

/142 cont./

771 Finally, everything seems to indicate that the more or less
776 magical aspect of the cult of the saints, such as is known and
177 practiced by the majority of caboclos, is the only one really assimilated by the Guaraní, and by preference by the younger generations. Furthermore, it seems that the "saint" is nothing beyond the image: nothing indicates the belief in a spirit or supernatural being that is not inherent in the material substratum of the image itself.

771 In spite of this, it is necessary to recognize that the Guaraní
177 religion has also been subjected to the influence of genuinely Christian concepts. Particularly in those sectors, it is clear, in which the prior religious experience already created an atmosphere favorable to the adoption of these concepts, i.e., situations in which these correspond to a need of the group.

771 Thus, the notion of the "sinner" and the correlated ideas
• 783 of responsibility and culpability, formerly nonexistent or at least
177 of little importance in the body of the collective representations
178 of the group, have easily become established among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, for example, because of the need to explain or rationalize the frustration experienced over the inefficiency of the prayers and ceremonies for going to the Land without Evil. Not having any element in the tribal doctrine capable of explaining this inefficiency, there was a psychic need to which the Christian concept of the guilty sinner corresponded admirably. Old Pedro Pires, with an air of resignation, told me: "Ñanderuvuvusú is a pure angel and we are sinners, and as a result we cannot
[829] reach him." And he explained: "Later everyone in the world will be equal, and in heaven too everyone is equal. But we cannot reach heaven, because we are all sinners."

But it should be emphasized that the idea of "being a sinner," besides being taken first only in a collective sense ("we are all /143/ sinners"), had to be reinterpreted in terms of earlier experiences in order to be integrated in the Guaraní mentality. "To be a sinner" could not, obviously, refer to bigamy or to disrespect for any of the Mosaic commandment. The significance of the term had to follow from their own experience, from

In Schaden--187 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1963 S344 Guarani S344

/143 cont./

783 a subjective state favorable to what it came to correspond to.
791 This subjective state was the consciousness that the phenomena of
177 social disorganization, creating greater and greater difficulties
178 and sometimes endangering the very survival of the collectivity, resulted from the fact of already not living rigorously according to the traditional patterns. The retrospective view of the well-organized group life of the past, in contrast with the crisis of the present, favored the acceptance of the idea of sin or of moral guilt, which could be established with relative ease because it meets the need to have the frustration explained. Furthermore, there was a formal element favorable to this adoption: the analogy or correspondence between the inefficiency of the rites and the Christian doctrine that a sinner cannot enter heaven.

771 In its original form the Guaraní religion does not know
775 post mortem punishment or eternal condemnation, one of the
177 realms, together with the attitude based on the belief in reincarnation (peculiar to the Ñandéva subgroup), that there is no motive for terror or despair before the final point of death. True, the anguéry, into which the atsýyguá is transformed, is unhappy; but, aside from this not being in consequence of any culpability, it is not properly the person of the deceased. The latter, represented by the ayvúkuê, finds its redemption (and it is around the idea of redemption that all of Guaraní religiosity gravitates) through rebirth or, in definitive form, through aguydjé, i.e., the journey to the Land without Evil. But the adoption of the Chris-
[183] tian idea of "sin," inevitably tied to that individual culpability, tends to shake this belief. Thus, old Silvino Rufino, capitão of the Ñandéva of Itariri, after explaining to me his opinion that in the end everybody will find the path to heaven, was careful to add by way of exception: "Only those who have sinned too much go to hell."

Even so, going to hell does not always necessarily stem from reprovable acts practiced by the individual. Among the
[184] Ñandéva of Dourados, the only Guaraní group that already is not so intent in one way or another on the myth of the Land without Evil, I found representations very elucidative in this respect and

2: Schaden--233 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/182 cont./

77 18 177 spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions. Furthermore, the margin of individual variability in the interpretation of the world, far from imposing a rigorously closed doctrinary body on the /183/ Guaraní believer, trains him for ample tolerance with regard to incongruences or even contradictions. It is probable that in ancient times, when Nandéva, Mbbá, and Kayová families did not yet live together in one and the same village, the beliefs and ceremonies of each one of the subtribes constituted a more rigid and well defined whole.

[783] Among the contemporaneous Guaraní, religious acculturation proceeds parallel to the adoption of new moral ideas, among them that of individual guilt. The Guaraní religion, one must insist on this, does not, except vaguely, recognize free will as a basis for the evaluation of human actions with regard to the fate of the soul post mortem. Good and evil are not qualities inherent in the actions of the individual, but necessary consequences of the nature of the one who performs them. Although susceptible of supernatural [784] sanction (perhaps by way of reward or revenge), the author is not considered morally responsible for his actions.

[78] It is in consequence of miscegenation and detribalization that the ceremonies and feasts prescribed by the tribal religion are little by little abandoned. For the realization of the great feasts the presence of all the members of the group is required; in most cases it is not possible to assemble everybody, because there is always someone to be found abroad, working on a fazenda or yerbal. And furthermore, if it is certain that the Guaraní religion constitutes the "nucleus of resistance" of the tribal culture, it is no less certain that the religion is the first thing rejected by the mestizos. Because of the cultural disnivellation stemming from that, there is no ground for a communitary spirit that would join together the pure and mestizo Guaraní. Were it not for their common position before the white man, the fact that they share with the Guaraní up to a certain point the situation of relative disdain in which caboclos and coastal people always put them, the mestizos, not infrequently characterized as being maliciously clever and troublemakers, would soon disown their native ancestry.